101 /4 cont./
175 French and English have been propelling their respective cultural
177 influences toward the heart of Guiana.

123 8. Since when I talk about these Indians I might seem
114 partial because of the great affection which I have for them and which they similarly have for me, I prefer to yield the floor to the illustrious ethnologist of Stuttgart, who asserts that the Taurepán Indians are the most pleasant, intelligent, /5/ and even the most physically perfect among all of the natives whom he came to know in his many excursions through the South American continent.

159 In a propaganda article I recall having written: "These Indians are pleasant in their dealings, in their manners, and in their language; they are hospitable, they are suspicious but never hostile toward strangers; they have a great love for their land, for their rivers, and for the places where they live, and they are very fond of pondering its beauties and like it very much when others praise them."

Elsewhere I also wrote and must repeat here: "With regard to their intellectual qualities I believe, as do most missionaries, that these Indians are not dull of wit nor lacking in morality. They have undoubtedly an excess of imagination with the consequences thereof, this being a characteristic of all who live in direct contact with, and as though absorbed by, virgin nature. The lack of stimulus toward all that is outside their ancestral standard or canon of life has given rise to their being called lazy or indolent, which we believe an unjust bad report."

114 9. The ethnographic or racial characteristics of the Pemón Indians can be examined in these words, which in the interest [262] of greater brevity I copy from Dr. Simpson: "They subsist [276] principally on cassava and ají; and they use tobacco; they use [411] blowguns and poison arrows; they poison rivers to catch fish; [226] they build semipermanent houses and sleep in hammocks; [342] originally they did not wear clothing or only a simple loincloth; [513] formerly they practiced empollamiento /"breeding, hatching"/ [291]

Hunting

/82 cont./

and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver, traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater, manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas, large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls. Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location: the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings, garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children. Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets. Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only. Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh, other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/, flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama /gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers. The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes, been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization: knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files, mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But they still remember a time when they used to make their loincloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

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286 /For further information about changes and continuities in many specific aspects of
291 Kamarakoto culture from aboriginal to modern times, see categories 177 and 178,
301 pp. 273-279./
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*197 same meanings. Some languages use both primary roots, e.g. Caribi, many
601 use the primary root for "husband," but the secondary for wife, e.g. Makuchi,
171 and a few Kamarakoto among them, use the secondary words for both. The Taurepan -ti:yemu(n) is decidedly aberrant. Like most others, this language does use the root tamu, in the form (n)-ta:mo, for "grandfather."

Ethnographic Words.

*192 a. Instruments for hunting and fishing.

*197 86. *Bow — ura:pa. Taurepan, ura:pa. Makuchi (Williams), u-ra-pa.

● 411 87. *Arrow — purau. Taurepan, pulōu. Makuchi (Williams) pə-reu.

Kinds of Arrows (for exact definitions see later pages):

88. *upalari. Taurepan, ʉpalari.

89. *pana:chika. Taurepan, pana:shika (sh as in English "ship").

90. waibakasi.

91. *tarau (literally "simple"). Taurepan, tara.u.

92. Bowstring — urapa-yeba.

93. Weapon (bow, shotgun, etc.) — rapai.

94. *Blow-gun (cerbatana) — kurai[y]. Taurepan kura[y], Makuchi (Williams) ku-ra.

95. *Blow-gun dart — kunwa. Taurepan, kunwa. Makuchi (Williams), kum-wa, kun-wa.

96. Detachable point of dart — iporosa[y].

97. Twist of tree-cotton on dart — atsari-kuma:sa[y].

98. Quiver for darts — mōi-yʉ.

99. Container for tree-cotton — taimui[y].

100. Dart poison (curare) — kunawara.

101. *Shotgun — alakaputsa. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) arakebusa. Makuchi (Williams) a-ra-ka-bu-sa. This is the obsolete Spanish word "arcabuz" = "arquebus," which was passed along with the weapon from tribe to tribe and is now the word for gun in almost all tribes of this region, regardless of affinities. (See Nordenskiōld, 1922).

[177]

*192 102. Fish-hook — kunoi[y].

*197 103. Fishing line (or any string) — yeba, also kunoi[y] yeba.

227 104. Fish-trap — muroi[y].

105. Fish-poison (barbasco) — ing[y].[48]

Fish-net (two kinds, described on later page):

106. *iru[y]. Taurepan, kari[y], but Koch-Grünberg gives hilu. Williams does not note the word in Makuchi but Koch-Grünberg quotes cami (kami) from a Brazilian colonist.

[48] [see footnote on p. 311, category 116 — Analyst]

The root kami probably is not related to kari' and means a hammock in Arekuna.

107. *pendə. Taurepan, pendə. Makuchi (Williams) pen-də. The words in this class are relatively constant not only in the three languages here principally considered but also in many other Carib dialects, some of them only distantly connected with these.

b. Fire and food.

108. *Flint (for making fire) — kakon. Koch-Grünberg gives wato (same word as for the whole apparatus) for "flint" and kakon for "rock crystal" in Taurepan.

109. *Steel (for making fire, generally a piece of file) — kulū-kulū. Makuchi (Williams), kari-kari, "file." Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) kōlō-kōlō. Files, either in their proper use or as steel for making fire with flint, obviously are not aboriginal but must have been acquired from Europeans and then traded from tribe to tribe. Most such acquisition have European names, more or less disguised (cf. alakaputsa for "shotgun"), but I can detect no such origin for kulū-kulū. As one would expect, however, it is practically international among the Indians, occurring even in languages quite unrelated to Kamarakoto, e.g. in Guinau (kūlū-kūlū). I suspect that it is onomatopeic, an attempt to imitate the sound of a file in use, uttered by the first Indians to observe it and passed on as the name of the article to other tribes with which they traded. We observed the beginning of such a process when the Kamarakotos started calling a camera tsə', from the sound of the shutter.

110. Tinder — wato-dapon.

111. *Flint, steel, and tinder, as carried — wato. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg), wato. See discussion of next word.

112. *Fire, firewood — apoi'. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) apo'. Makuchi (Williams) a-po. As Koch-Grünberg has noted, wato usually means "fire" in Carib dialects. There are, indeed, two series of Carib words meaning "fire." One has forms that are simple variants of wato and the other, more variable, forms like wapoto ("uapoto," Yao, Adam) apoto (Cumanagoto, Adam), and apo. Forms like wapto (Tamanaco, Adam), suggest that they may be derived from the same primitive word. In Kamarakoto and Taurepan these are both retained, with different but

224 (identification of these animals). These are the staple food animals, as nearly
262 as any can so be called. Capybaras, kapi:ba, armadillos, atsi:gamo, merun, and mauraima, and anteaters, waremg, are sometimes eaten but are not so
[261] specifically hunted. Monkeys, carnivores, sloths, opossums, and the small rodents are not regularly hunted or eaten except in times of food scarcity. Some allied Indians, even among the Arekunas, regularly eat monkeys but most of the Kamarakotos expressed distaste for monkey flesh.

In spite of the variety of food mammals available, it seems in fact to be relatively rare to obtain one and their meat, however much enjoyed when obtained, is not a staple. Few mammal bones are seen around the houses and the Indians do not claim to be able to procure such game regularly.[110]

223 Birds are more often procured, but still not regularly. They range from
262 the large okira and karmaiba down to the tiny kamata. The principal sorts eaten will be found in the Vocabulary.[1]

224 Among reptiles and amphibians only the tortoises and the larger lizards,
225 ayamaka, are ordinarily eaten, and these not often. ayamaka-eggs are an
262 eagerly sought delicacy when in season and the eggs of practically all the larger wild birds are also eaten. Most Indians eat crocodilians and the absence of these from the Kamarakoto diet is perhaps due rather to rarity and difficulty of capture than to distaste.

222 Among insects the large ant-like bachacos, kaiba[3], are eaten as are
262 some larvae found in palm trees, tsiya[4] and iwo. Other insects may be eaten
[231] in times of need but are not regular items of diet. Wild honey, tautsan-yeuku,
[237] is much prized but is not abundant enough to be a staple. I did not hear of any attempts to domesticate bees. Honey is also used for tattooing and beeswax for fastening blowguns together, coating quivers, etc.

Hunting.

224 Hunting, carried on only by men, is a favorite occupation but probably
[462] not a very productive one. One would anticipate that such Indians would be
[433] skillful hunters and certainly all the men engage in this and have abundant paraphernalia for it and many tales of their prowess, but as far as I could check
[125] the actual performance it is not impressive. For instance we employed successively two men who were agreed to be the best hunters in the tribe, arranged for them to have all their time for this, gave them whatever they wished in the way of ammunition, and offered extra prizes for any unusual success, but one of them did not succeed in getting any game and the other drew blank most days and in a week he got only one animal, an acure, that could be considered a
[262] success from the point of view of pot-hunting. I have already remarked on the
[411] evidence that animal food is more a treat than a regular item of diet. We were also unimpressed by such examples of marksmanship, with their weapons or with ours, as we saw.

110 [see foot note on pp. 319-20, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on pp. 59-61, category 116 – Analyst]

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Fig. 15 — Kamarakoto Bow.
A, the whole bow from the side, unstrung.
B, end showing attachment of bowstring
(to right) and re-enforcing string (to left).
C, cross section near middle, bowstring to right.

224 ours, as we saw. In short, these are agricultural Indians and their hunting has
[433] more the aspect of a diversion than of a gainful occupation.

411 They claimed to have about fifteen shotguns in the tribe, but most of
177 these are probably never fired. We saw two or three, old muzzle-loaders traded in from Brazil, the Guianas, or northern Venezuela. Practically all the Indians of this general region acquired a few guns long ago, before any civilized persons had ever visited them, but powder and shot have always been rare and expensive and the guns are reserved for great occasions or are articles of pure luxury. They have never become every-day weapons.

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every [867] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys [824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadɛ). Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting [224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrically whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with [263] [237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter, with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai' string and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered taran.

The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p. 320, Category 116 - Analyst]

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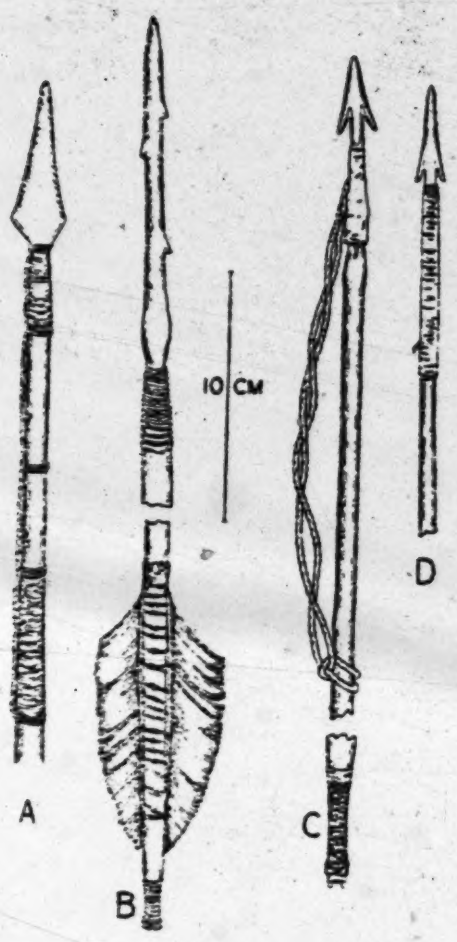

Fig. 16 — Kamarakoto Arrows.
A, distal end of a supalari, showing end of shaft and all of foreshaft and point. B, tarau, with most of shaft omitted. C, waibakasi, with most of shaft and proximal end of foreshaft omitted; the point and its looped cord are removable. D, panachika, point and distal end of foreshaft.

411 171 of arrows used by related tribes that I did not see among the Kamarakotos and that my informants did not know: an arrow with a heavy, blunt wooden point used to stun birds, an arrow with a trident point used to shoot fish (for this and the last see Koch-Grünberg, Taurepán specimens, Vol. III, Plate 14, and Roth 1924, Figs. 52, 54), and one with a detachable poisoned wooden point 208 (Makuchi and Waiwai, Farabee, Plate XXXIII). The Kamarakotos never use poison (curare) on arrows to be shot with a bow.

411 177 The use of steel points is, of course, post-Columbian and comparison with related tribes shows that they have replaced bone and wooden (especially bamboo) points. There is no evidence that this tribe or any close relatives ever used stone arrow points and I have not been able to learn that any have been found in Venezuelan Guayana, although stone axes have. Stone spear (not arrow) points apparently occurred at least among more distantly related tribes. The Kamarakotos do not now use spears. The use of steel points doubtless goes back to colonial times and the Kamarakotos have no memory of their 325 introduction, saying that they have "always" had them. They are made mostly from pieces of old machete blades, worked cold with a file or on stones. Hot working of iron is unknown.

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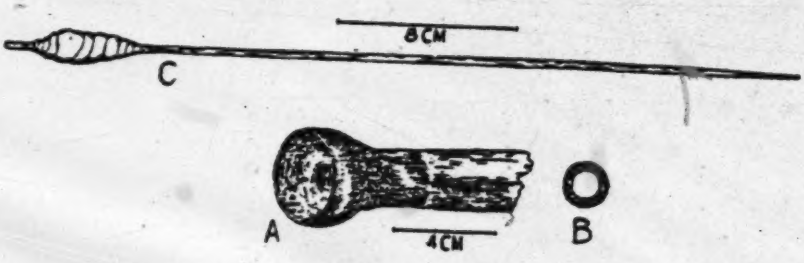

Fig. 17 — Kamarakoto Blowgun and Dart.
A, oblique view of proximal end of blowgun with mouthpiece. B, end view of distal end showing the two fitted tubes. C, typical dart ready for use, with curare (black) on tip.

The favorite weapon is the blowgun, kurai' (Fig. 17A, B), but it is more expensive to the Indians and is therefore not as common as the bow, which can be entirely made at home. The blowgun is made of two wooden tubes, the inner one (sanwoto) perfectly straight and with a continuous straight bore. This is so weak that it bends when supported only at one end and it also splits easily. It is therefore inserted into an outer casing of harder wood (yurwa), which supports the inner tube but cannot be used alone because it is jointed and cannot be prepared with an even bore. The two tubes are carefully selected and

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to 411 439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only [137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but [824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut [822] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out, [237] and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kunwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare, [278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary 411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They [439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver, 415 möiye, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax, 237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos [439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimui[9], uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipirai[9], is attached to the top of quiver.

114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

411 [89] For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumasa?, about 45-50 mm. in length, is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

[42] A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosa?, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is [23] much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun 278 is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison 411 is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that [171] poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

411 Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

224 Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an im-
800 provised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 – Analyst]

231 We did not see dogs hunting, but these
that we saw around the homes looked extraordinarily mangy and ill-found and acted as if they could be of no possible use. Some are merely kept as pets and the children play with them but the adults generally ignore them completely.
171 None of them are watchdogs or show any courage or assertiveness. It was said that the Maquiritares raise exceptionally good hunting dogs, and that these are sometimes acquired by trading, but we saw none of this favored breed.[117]
192 The curious fact that the Kamarakotos use the Spanish word for "dog" (which they pronounce peró, not perro), although there is a widespread Carib name for them, suggests that the Kamarakotos may not have had dogs until recently, although other Carib tribes apparently have had them a long time, probably since pre-Columbian times. In any case, dogs play a very minor role among the Kamarakotos and are far less abundant and useful than among many allied Indians.

● 411 174 144 Most of the Guayana and Amazon Indians seem formerly to have used wooden clubs, often elaborately carved and decorated and of characteristic form for each tribe (see Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, Roth, and, indeed, almost any detailed account of travels in this general region). Used mainly for warfare, now an obsolescent occupation, these clubs seem almost everywhere to be dropping out of use. The Kamarakotos undoubtedly formerly used these, but I saw none among them, and could obtain no evidence that they are now made or used, even, as among many tribes, as ceremonial or dance accessories.

Fishing.

226 262 423 724 165 Fish is a favorite food of the Indians and fishing is a favorite sport and, in the case of fish poisoning, social event. Fishing rights are well defined and jealously guarded — the only serious Indian war that the Kamarakotos remember arose from infringement of these rights and such infringement is still, in theory at least, a capital offense.

Fish are taken with bow and arrow, hook and line, hand net, trap, and poison. Fish spears and casting or set nets appear to be unknown. The principal fishing arrow, waibakasi, has already been described. The trident fishing arrow of some allied tribes was not seen, and this method of catching fish is not now much used by the Kamarakotos, especially as large fish are now rare. In fish-poisoning some of the fish that are stunned but not dead are shot with arrows, usually mere sharpened sticks, but this is more a sport for the boys (and more sportive men) than a serious method of obtaining the fish.

227 172 439 All the Indians of the Guianas and Venezuela and most of those of Brazil by now have steel hooks of foreign manufacture, a favorite article of trade that penetrated the region farther and faster than explorers have. They have a native name, kunoi[y] in Kamarakoto, and doubtless have displaced native wooden hooks although these are now quite unknown to the Kamarakotos who consider

117 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

273 Other varieties are named for their principal ingredient. Among them are:

napuey-yeuku,	from mapueyes.
piricha-yeuku,	from yams.
icha-yeuku,	from sweet potatoes.
anai-yeuku,	from corn.

-yeuku means simply "juice," but all these are understood to be fermented.

Kachiri has a somewhat sour, gaseous, but pleasant taste. It is a mild intoxicant, perhaps about like a heavy beer or light wine, but on festive occasions it is taken in such enormous quantities that the participants finally become as effectively drunk as if they had taken distilled liquor. It has been the general experience of travelers to acquire a taste for this drink, which is refreshing and mild when taken in moderation.

276 The only narcotic known is tobacco, which is used by both sexes and all [249] ages except the most tender.[124] Tobacco, doubtless pre-Columbian throughout this area, is grown at each settlement. The leaves are tied along a bark string and tied in the houses to dry. When anyone wishes to smoke, he takes [177] a leaf or two, rolls a cigar, and smokes it forthwith. The Kamarakotos are familiar with pipes, which they call by the Venezuelan Spanish name, "cachimba," but these are very little used and certainly are a recent innovation. Those that are used are improvised from palm or other soft wood, hollowed out, with a hollow reed inserted in one side. Cigarettes are not normally used and tobacco is not chewed or snuffed. An aqueous infusion of tobacco is used by the piaches (see "Magic and Religion") but not by other persons and not for pleasure.

Household Furnishings

Tools and Weapons.

● 411 The principal weapons have been sufficiently characterized in dealing [171] with hunting on a previous page. One typical Carib weapon, the wooden war club, was not seen although from its general distribution there is no doubt that it was formerly known to these people. Some may still exist, but there is no [173] current use for them and they are not now manufactured. In legends of tribal warfare, as I heard them, clubs are not mentioned and the fighting is said to have been entirely with bow and arrow. This is unlikely, but at least it reflects the present lack of knowledge or interest in clubs.

412 The universal tools are now machetes, axes, knives, and files, all of 177 steel and of foreign make (mostly North American or German). Although not

124 [See footnote on p. 321, category 116 — Analyst]

*286 482 sides and at the bottom by a high, continuous rim of basketwork, but not at the top. In the akaiʔ the weave is the same throughout and consists of any type of lattice, that shown in Fig. 65 B being most common. In the koataiʔ the bottom is of closed twill, usually with a repeating square spiral pattern, and the sides are latticed. In both the bottom strands are continuous with those of the sides. The sides are never of closework. This basketry is bound all around the edge with split lianas in various ways like those already described for split-cane re-enforced edging on baskets. The back is re-enforced by a rectangular frame of four sticks placed inside but with the ends projecting through the basketwork, lashed with wadapi and also tied to the basketry with curagua twine. Outside the basketry, beneath the longer pieces of this inner frame, two considerably heavier sticks are lashed. A small liana or a split large one is fastened at each bottom lower corner, outside, bent over the rim, and passes down to the same corner inside. A brace of spirally wrapped wadapi runs from the edging at each top outer corner to the top edging of the back piece and another, shorter, from the free part of this to the edging between its two attachments. Finally, a stout cotton cord, to be used to anchor the lacing of the load, is usually permanently looped all around the edging and a more slender, long piece, to use as lacing, is tied to this at some point. Carrying straps, usually of bark, are attached to the heavy sticks outside the base, one to go over the head and two to slip up the arms over the shoulders, although either the head strap or the shoulder straps may be omitted. Among the Taurepánes and apparently most [462] other tribes, these are used by men and women. Among the Kamarakotos they [184] are, like all basketry, made by men but except in very unusual circumstances only the women use them, the man's back-pack being quite different (see "Transportation") and not of basketwork.

*285 ●411 [128] [237] As regards the dart-quiver, nöi-yg (Fig. 67), I am in the same position as regarding the kapok basket that accompanies it. I cannot be certain that any particular specimen examined was really of Kamarakoto manufacture. The mode of construction is also largely concealed in the finished article, which is all I have seen, by its being heavily covered with beeswax. In this case, however, all are nearly the same in construction and since the Kamarakotos do make some, a general description must apply to their work. The inside of the quiver is a separate basket (sewn to the outer layers) which in the cases I have seen has a square single-hourglass base and all-over twill sides. This is surrounded by at least one and apparently several other layers of heavier basketry, forming a long cylinder flaring at both ends. The upper end is left open, its thick edge neatly braided, and the lower end closed with a circular plate cut from a calabash, tied in place with curagua twine. Except for this [283] base and the upper rim the outside is heavily smeared with beeswax. At about the middle a wide spiral wrapping of moriche cord is tightly applied over the beeswax, and into this is bound a short loop, just long enough to slip over the

[text continues on p. 198]

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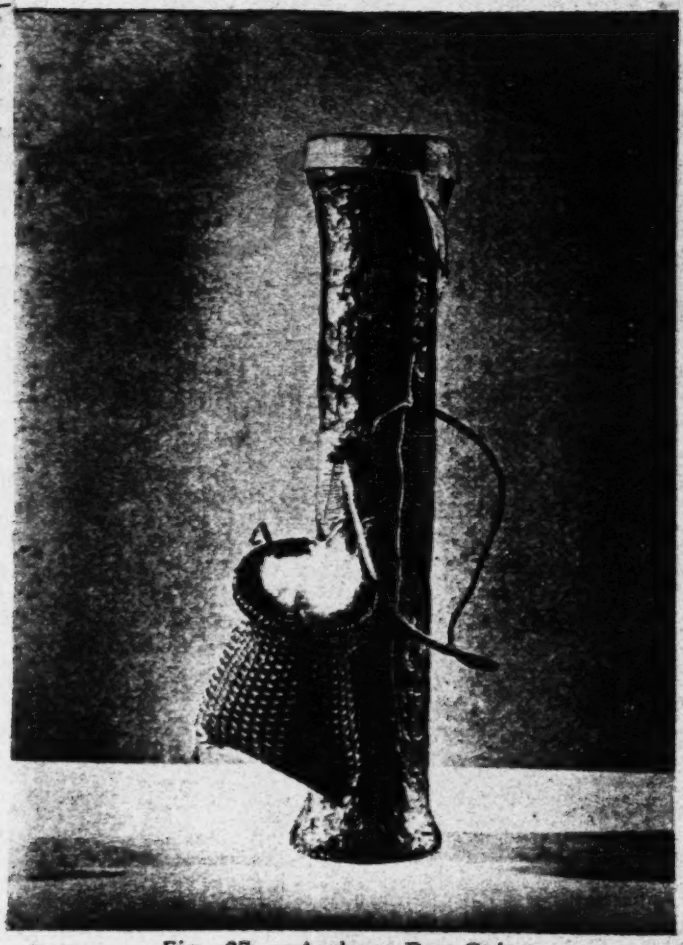

Fig. 67 — Arekuna Dart Quiver.

This specimen was in use by the Taurepanes, but is essentially the same as those used by the Kamarakotos. Attached to the quiver (mõi-yɛ), proper, is the usual small basket (tsimui') full of kapok. The only difference from Kamarakoto specimens seen is that in the latter the carrying loop was of moriche cord, not rawhide as here.

shoulder, usually also of moriche cord, braided.[158] The kapok basket is usually tied to this. A cover is made of a circular piece of rawhide, usually deer, by shaping it over the top when wet and allowing it to harden in the proper shape. This is also tied to the carrying strap. One ramus of the jaw of a caribe ("piranha") fish is tied to the rim of the quiver and it is ready for use.

The last usual type of basketry is the muroi' or fish trap.[159] The general form and operation of these has been described under "Fishing." Here it is only necessary to note that it is a framework of withes that are not themselves woven or plaited but are simply tied together by wrapping with basketry strands, the only example of wrapped work seen among these Indians.

The nomenclature of basketry differs more from tribe to tribe than do the baskets themselves. Sometimes the names are descriptive and different tribes vary the descriptions. In other cases cognate special words are used but are applied to different objects by different tribes. A good example is the name pakara which in Arekuna means "purse" and is applied by the Kamarakotos to their thread-textile purses. In British Guiana the same word (from which "pegall" or "pack-all" of the colonists is derived) is applied by the Carib tribes to storage or carrying baskets, commonly to what Kamarakotos call amaːtu, which are entirely different from the Arekuna pakara.

The following synonymy of Kamarakoto and Taurepán names shows how different nomenclature may be even between dialects of the same language.

	Kamarakoto	Taurepán
Mats.		
	o. olori	wõroworí
	(Not observed)	sumbarima (plain plaited cassave mat).
Trays and sieves.		
	(Not observed)	arikoponbə (shallow, plain plaited saucer-like mat or tray).
	œapa	œəpa
	pangaiˀ	pəngaˀ
	maturtu	(Not observed)
Sacks, etc.		
	wakawaˀ	(Not observed but doubtless known and essentially a large pakaruma.)
	(Not observed)	pakaruma (deep, plain plaited carrying bags made in many sizes and shapes some of which have special names).

158, 159 [see footnotes on p. 326, category 116 – Analyst]

174 typical Kamarakoto combination of elements. It would be fascinating to trace
177 this history and this has been done to a very limited extent, but from the present point of view all these elements are properly relegated to one level. This is true even though some of the aboriginal culture elements may have arisen or may have reached the Kamarakotos in post-Columbian times. The sequence is not here exactly recoverable and even an innovation within the last few years must be considered as fully aboriginal if it was not effected by any European influence. For present purposes these things are, then, "the old," and anything resulting from European influence is "the new."

Innovation, in this sense, began at the instant when Indians sighted Columbus's ships in 1492 and has continued with acceleration since that time. From the start the Indians found some European imports so useful to their own way of life that they accepted them at once and these things, once available in any quantity, spread so rapidly that they were soon in use by Indians who had never seen a white man. Steel knives and the banana are cases in point, both imports but so anciently and so thoroughly naturalized that they are today integral parts of most purely Indian cultures.

The Kamarakotos fully shared in this now old spread of introduced culture elements. It is not known and it does not particularly matter whether they received them from Europeans when the missions and the conquistadors invaded the Orinoco and the Caroni or whether they received them from other Indians. They belong to another cultural level which may for convenience be called the Colonial level (as regards this region). It is characterized by the fact that it was things, not customs or ideas, that were spread, and that they were things that were highly acceptable to an Indian because they made his life easier and
● [411] more pleasant without in any fundamental way changing it. For instance, the Indians then began to use steel arrowheads, which were better than their old ones,
[262] but they continued to use the fully aboriginal bow and arrow. They began to eat bananas, which were a delightful addition to diet, but their aboriginal agricultural system was not changed.

After this, often hardly separable from it in a given case but fundamentally unlike in general, came a second sequence or level of European cultural contacts, one in which direct and close contact with people of partly or wholly European culture was involved. For some Indians this phase also began in colonial times, and even ended there with complete absorption into the modified culture of mainly European origin, but for convenience in speaking of this particular region it may be called the modern level. Many new things are introduced on this level, often more than on the colonial level. Some of them are
[372] merely improvements on colonial innovations. For instance, the colonial flint and steel replaced the aboriginal fire drill and now the modern match will eventually replace the flint and steel, all without any profound cultural significance.
177 The modern level is characterized, however, by definite changes in modes of

237 211 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

●411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipɔ̃la:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 228 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 239 412 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue. Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

231 171 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 824 [114] 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ing' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ing) can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[7]] [22] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.